THE Nation

November 8, 1952

KOREA

Undebated Campaign Issue

AN EDITORIAL

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Colombia: Political Volcano

BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

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Jim Crow: A Problem in Diplomacy - - *W. A. Rutherford*

The Smith Act: Baltimore Version - - - - *Frank J. Donner*

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Education of Wendell Willkie, a Review - - *H. H. Wilson*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

On Loyalty Oaths

[*The Society for the Study of Social Problems was organized last year in Chicago to promote and protect sociological research. At its first annual meeting on September 3 last its Committee on Standards, and Freedom of Research, Teaching, and Publications, presented a report which is here reprinted in part as a noteworthy discussion of the question of loyalty oaths.*]

ALL societies demand of their members loyalty to certain ways of doing and of thinking. These ways constitute what may be called sanctioned behavior, and deviation from them meets with retribution in the form of punishment, ostracism, or loss of material advantages and status within the group. But history is studded with examples of men who pushed forward the boundaries of human well-being through refusal to abide by the old, and through proposing new patterns of behavior. Modern democracy has gone farthest not only in making place for such dissenters but even in making dissent itself a form of sanctioned behavior, as witness certain basic documents which laid the foundation for the American idea.

The right to dissent from accepted conventions of thinking and doing lies at the heart of democracy. The discovery of new truth is the highest activity of democratic citizenship, and science its most important institution. Thus in American culture the ultimate allegiance of mature men and women—and that for which we must educate the young as well—is to truth, and loyalty is not some mechanical process of saluting or verbal mumbo-jumbo but a process of continual search, questioning, and reappraisal of accepted ideas.

Since the end of World War II there has been a tendency to demand of individuals that they proclaim their loyalty to American ideals, to investigate public officials and civil servants as to their loyalty to the American way of life, and to require teachers publicly to proclaim that they are not members of subversive organizations aimed at overthrowing the government. People have been required to sign what have come to be known as "loyalty oaths" to the federal and state constitutions, and their public and private lives, past as well as present, have been subjected to inquiry. Little if any attempt has been made to establish precisely what it is that citizens in a democracy are supposed to be loyal to. Many distinguished persons who have refused to sign such an oath on the ground that it interfered with their constitutional right to hold heterodox opinions and was an obstacle to the pursuit of scientific truth concerning nature, man, and society have been deprived of their jobs and publicly pilloried.

Loyalty defined in terms of obedience to the powers that be is often incompatible with loyalty to the Jeffersonian dictum that the test of democratic citizenship is the struggle against tyranny over men's minds. Indeed, loyalty oaths and investigations have become the method used by organizations and groups with a narrow view of democracy to make their view of loyalty the only view. This makes it possible for all forms of bigotry, intolerance, totalitariansm, or organized ignorance to use organized power to substitute another concept of loyalty for the democratic concept. . . .

LOYALTY OATHS betray a basic insecurity and anxiety concerning the future of America. It may well be that the proponents of loyalty oaths are not so much fearful of the threat of communism and of Sovietism—a threat which all liberal men and women wish to beat back—as of the threat of true democracy to their own undemocratically wielded power. . . .

The right to freedom of assembly and the right to join organizations of one's own choosing have been placed under attack by the extreme loyalists. In exercising those rights democratic citizens have sometimes had to rub elbows, exchange opinions, and even on certain issues act in agreement with individuals who later turned out to be "agents of a foreign power." Those who have been found in this situation are being accused through the doctrine of guilt by association. Lists of organizations have been drawn up membership in which is claimed to be prima facie evidence of disloyalty, though democratic citizens may have joined them simply as "political innocents," seeing no harm in working for a cause which Communists also happened to be working for.

This procedure has made men cautious of holding certain opinions, deprived youth of their right to question the institutions and forms of sanctioned behavior thrust upon them as children, and initiated a type of regressive behavior which can lead to infantile acceptance of all authority. If carried far enough, this procedure can end by thrusting America into the very totalitarianism which the authorities claim to be fighting against. . . .

. . . Even before the appearance of the loyalty scare in recent years, sociology was looked upon as a subversive science because of its desire to find the truth concerning sex, race, crime, propaganda, power, and the forces of ignorance and superstition. How much more suspect will it become if the present climate of opinion continues. Sociologists may soon be required to subscribe to an oath that they will not investigate certain topics on the ground that they are un-American — with Americanism defined to suit vested interests. The classroom, which particularly in colleges and universities must be a market-place for ideas on many "unpleasant" topics, will be under surveillance; prying eyes will seek to discover that the young are being subverted through being taught to think for themselves—which usually means simply being taught to think. . . .

. . . Sociologists know only one sure loyalty—the devotion to truth, even though that truth should involve transvaluation of existent values. Of all the sciences, social and natural, sociology is most endangered by loyalty oaths and the ideology underlying them. Other scientists may continue to unearth truths in restricted or specialized areas, truths which may be used by all men instrumentally. But sociology cannot put on blinkers and retain its birthright. Sociology has an inherently rebellious aspect in that its aim is to ask questions about the very way in which society is organized. If that be disloyalty, it will be necessary for us to see that ignorance and bigotry do not make the most of it.

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KOREA: THE UNDEBATED ISSUE

November 3, 1952

THE NATION will go to press before the balloting begins but after the campaign has ended. As to the results, we share the general uncertainty and shall not try to anticipate them. It is also too early to attempt an evaluation of the campaign as a whole, but of one thing we are certain: a great issue went undebated—the issue of the Korean war. As Arthur Krock pointed out in the New York *Times* of October 31, "Our involvement in this conflict, the continuing stalemate, and the contributing events have always been implicit as a campaign issue." Yet it was not until the final phase of the campaign that the Korean war made its appearance, and even then it was treated obliquely rather than as a central problem calling for creative thought and discussion.

For the failure to raise the issue in a timely and direct fashion the two parties bear equal responsibility. After first indicating agreement with the Administration, General Eisenhower later sought to exploit the emotional potential of Korea without advancing any constructive policy of his own. Instead of clarifying the issue, he dealt with it in a way that endangered our alliances, called in question the principles on which intervention was originally justified, and contributed to Asian distrust of American motives by asserting that the war should be converted into a struggle between Asian peoples. And finally, in his Detroit speech, he suddenly promised to make "a personal trip to Korea" in an effort to bring the war to an early and honorable end—but with no hint as to how he would go about it.

The Administration has been thoroughly inept in its handling of the situation. The reason is clear enough. Fear of the China lobby and Republican flanking attacks have forced it into a negative position and deprived it of the capacity for creative action. In consequence, the Administration's policy has been wholly static, leaving the initiative to the Russians. It is a measure of this inflexibility that the Russians, not we, were responsible for starting the truce negotiations. Largely because of its morbid fear of being charged with "appeasement" and of being "soft on communism" the government has refused even to permit its allies to take part in the attempt to achieve a cease-fire. By the same token, it was unwilling to face the risk of inviting a clear mandate from the people by bringing the problem into the campaign.

Finally, with the truce discussions stalemated for a year and the Korean war barred as a campaign issue, the Administration allowed it to be placed at the top of the agenda of the Political Committee of the General Assembly in the final weeks of the election fight! By every canon of common sense, consideration of Korea in the United Nations should have been postponed, since it was apparent that Mr. Acheson could not and would not discuss it with any freedom in the last days before the election. He could do no more than present an able but dry-as-dust historical recital of the facts. He proposed nothing while accusing the Russians of proposing nothing. Without committing the United States he could at least have tested the honesty of the Russian position. In his address of October 29 Mr. Vishinsky had said: "The question of the exchange of war prisoners has remained the lone hurdle on the path to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question." Mr. Acheson might have responded by asking the Russians if they were prepared, in the interest of world peace and of saving further lives, to accept an immediate cease-fire, leaving to a special committee the negotiation of the exchange of prisoners.

THERE were other possible alternatives, but the Administration's U. N. strategy remained as negative as its campaign strategy. And both had the effect of preventing any outspoken stand on Korea by the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. We do not believe Governor Stevenson, had he been President, would have sanctioned such an ostrich-like attitude. But as nominee he knew that any positive proposals he might make would imply criticism of the Administration. On most issues the Governor spoke with candor and sense, but on Korea he was a victim of his party's record in office.

Failure to debate the Korean war stems from the fallacy that a bipartisan foreign policy necessarily implies an absence of public debate. To such a degree has this view been accepted by the Administration that it has increasingly assumed a tone and manner which imply that any criticism of its foreign policies is tantamount to treason. Nothing could be more short-sighted. Had the Administration given a full accounting of the facts and prospects

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in the Korean situation, it is altogether possible that fewer voters would have been reported in "basic conflict," up to the very end, on the issues of the campaign. Voters have not been given the facts—witness the belated release of a "top secret" report to Senator Morse. In a sense, therefore, the stalemate on Korea reflects the absence of debate and the resulting paralysis of political opinion in this country. The way to end both stalemates is to encourage full and free and public discussion—in the United Nations, in the United States—of the question of war or peace. What the new Administration must understand, specifically, is that Korea is a major issue for the American people. The China lobby can intimidate an Administration on the eve of a crucial election; it cannot intimidate the people once they know all the facts.

Campaign Notes

IN THE course of a campaign as hectic as the one just ended, minor incidents which may be of considerable interest in retrospect are often missed. For the record we should like to set down a few such items.

*

IN THE EXCITEMENT over the Nixon affair, the press seems to have failed to identify the newspaperman who published the original exposé of the California Senator's private expense fund. It was Dan Green—publisher of the *Independent Review*, a legal-notice newspaper in Los Angeles. With forty years' experience in West Coast journalism, Green is a widely known and respected figure in California Democratic politics. His recent series of pieces in the *Independent Review* on the Rise and Fall of Richard Nixon deserve a wide audience.

*

PHIL LA FOLLETTE, son of the founder of the Progressive movement, in a radio talk just before the election came out for Eisenhower, praised "the military mind," and forgot to mention Joe McCarthy. The comment of Miles McMillin of the Madison *Capital Times* was interesting. "There are many Progressives who stood with Phil's father," he wrote, "and many who stood with Phil when he was talking like his father's son. They will wonder about the ways of politics as they see Phil standing in the ruins of his heritage. . . . He went on the air the other night to bear witness to a creed that could hardly be called the faith of his father. Military leaders of the type of Eisenhower and MacArthur, he said, make better Presidents than governors like Adlai Stevenson. This is a somewhat different doctrine than Old Bob La Follette formulated about the military mind in public office and handed along to the Progressive movement." That one of Old Bob's sons should have supported MacArthur in 1948 and Eisenhower in 1952—and should have ignored McCarthy in an important

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political address—underscores the need for serious research on the background of McCarthyism in Wisconsin.

*

TWO DAYS BEFORE Senator McCarthy invaded Nevada to campaign for Senator George ("Molly") Malone, Henry Greenspun, editor and publisher of the Las Vegas *Sun*, made a blistering attack on McCarthy in his signed column "Where I Stand." Previously Greenspun haled Senator McCarran into court to answer charges of having brought pressure on local advertisers to withdraw their accounts from the *Sun*. At a crowded meeting in Las Vegas sponsored by the local women's Republican organization, McCarthy praised Malone's fight against communism and accused Greenspun of having smeared "a man I love dearly, Senator Pat McCarran." "I wish his name wasn't Greenspun," he roared; "he's a disgrace to a fine race . . . he follows the mouthings of the *Daily Worker*."

When McCarthy had ended, Greenspun asked for the floor. "If you want to listen to the editor of the local *Daily Worker*," said McCarthy, "you can, but I'm going," and he marched out of the hall, followed by perhaps half of an estimated audience of 1,000. The other half stayed and cheered Greenspun as he recited the facts of various unsavory episodes in Joe's past. The next day Greenspun, a strong Republican supporter of Eisenhower, wired the General demanding that he "disavow and repudiate" McCarthy. When Eisenhower failed to respond, Greenspun switched to Stevenson.

*

WITH ITS ELABORATE COVERAGE by Nevada newspapers, the Greenspun incident may prove to have changed the political situation in the state. Booming Las Vegas now holds the balance of power in Nevada. In 1940 the population of Clark County was 16,414; in 1950 it was 48,289. McCarthy's attack on Greenspun did not hurt the chances of young Tom Mechling, whose fight against Malone has been one of the brightest chapters in the 1952 campaign. While stationed in Las Vegas during the war Mechling decided that Nevada was the one state in which a young man interested in a political career might be able to shake hands with most if not all of the registered voters. In the last ten months he seems to have done just that. And in breezy radio talks he has explained why he had two opponents—Senator Malone, the Republican nominee, and Senator McCarran, the senior Democratic Senator.

Two days after Mechling defeated McCarran's protégé in the Democratic primary, representatives of McCarran came to see him. They told him he could have the support of the Democratic machine on two conditions: that he leave all patronage in McCarran's hands, and that he accept McCarran's "guidance" on key national and international issues. When Mechling laughed at this offer, McCarran and his boys began to work for Malone, as they had worked for, and elected, the Republican nominee for governor in 1950. President Truman then announced that McCarran was not his "kind of Democrat," and Governor Stevenson seconded the motion to boot McCarran over to the Republican side of the street.

*

IT TAKES NO MORE than two quotations to expose one McCarthy lie. In his October 27 speech at Chicago Senator McCarthy said:

> In Stevenson's biography—and here's something which I especially call to your attention . . . on page 73 we find that in the summer of 1943 . . . after Mussolini's government had fallen, Stevenson was given the task of formulating America's post-war policy in Italy. On page 75 we find the statement that his recommendations were followed in Italy. . . . Well, General Bedell Smith, a fine American, . . . has told what that foreign policy established by Stevenson was. . . . He says that foreign policy was to "connive," to "connive" to bring Communists into the Italian government and to bring the Italian Communist leader, Togliatti, back from Moscow. . . . Keep in mind that Bedell Smith had nothing to do with this program—he was just testifying as to what it was.

In his book "My Three Years in Moscow" General Bedell Smith, as quoted in an Associated Press dispatch of October 30, wrote as follows:

> We of the West [in Italy in late 1943] were determined to establish a democratic government with as broad a base as possible, and this made it easy for us to accept Communist participation in the Italian government, and even to accept, and indeed to facilitate, the return of the Italian Communist leader, Togliatti, who had been in Moscow.
>
> Even had we been contrarily disposed, it would have been difficult to deny Communist participation in the Italian government. Disciplined, militant Communist groups, particularly in the industrial areas of northern Italy, had been the rallying point for Italian opposition to the Germans. The Communists were the hard core of the partisan movement, and their initial participation in the reconstructed Italian government was on a cooperative, collaborative basis.

General Bedell Smith did not mention Mr. Stevenson in connection with this policy.

*

A FULL-PAGE ADVERTISEMENT prepared by the Volunteers for Stevenson at Columbia University appeared in the New York *Times* of October 16. The 324 signatures attached included those of outstanding teachers and scholars at the university. A week later an advertisement was inserted in the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune* urging the election of Eisenhower and purport-

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ing to carry the signatures of 714 members of the Columbia "faculties and staffs." The paucity of well-known names on this list, together with the known heavy faculty preference for Stevenson, aroused suspicion. Professors were amazed to find on the list the names of their apartment-house superintendents. It was discovered that only 259 of the 714 names could properly be regarded as representing either faculty or staff: 228 could not be located in any university directory; 89 were students, many non-matriculated, who apparently held part-time jobs at the university; 103 were office and secretarial workers; 23 were buildings-and-grounds employees; 6 were bookstore employees; and 6 were superintendents of apartment buildings owned by the university.

The indignation of the faculty at such tactics was increased by another circumstance. Earlier in the campaign the acting president had urged high officers of the university to refrain from signing campaign documents lest the university be misrepresented. Accordingly, men like Dean Ackerman of the School of Journalism had not signed the Stevenson advertisement. The pro-Eisenhower statement, however, bore the names of various top administrators, among them President Russell of Teachers College. In a lead editorial on October 29 the *Spectator*, the undergraduate newspaper, declared that Professor Howell Inghram, secretary of the Eisenhower group, had refused to explain the presence of the questionable names. Remarking that much had been said about academic freedom, the *Spectator* defined the issue as one of academic integrity. "This is the second surrender of principles at Morningside," it said. "Let there be no more." On October 30 Professor Irwin Edman, speaking for the Stevenson committee, observed that "this issue transcends partisan political allegiance," and "involves a serious breach of ethics."

Next Week in *The Nation*

The Meaning of the Election

Comments by

Aubrey Williams, publisher of the *Southern Farm and Home;* Harry Ashmore, editor of the *Arkansas Gazette;* Hugo Ernst, general president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution;* Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Edward Lamb, publisher of the Erie *Dispatch-Herald* and owner of television stations WICU in Erie and WTVN in Columbus; Leo Lerner, Chicago North Side Newspapers; James Fitzsimmons Gardner, Labor's League for Political Education; Irving Dilliard of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch;* Maury Maverick, Saul D. Alinsky, Stringfellow Barr, and James Warburg.

UNESCO and Franco Spain

Paris

IN A world where screaming contradictions between "principles" and "realities" abound and considerations of expediency receive cynical respect, it may seem a small matter whether Franco Spain is admitted to UNESCO or not. The arguments in favor are familiar enough: Spain is already a member of the Food and Agricultural Organization; so why not let it into UNESCO too? Also there are plenty of other UNESCO members, like Argentina on the one hand and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland on the other, whose domestic ideologies have little in common with UNESCO's aims. With respect to the second argument, all these countries became members when conditions were different; the Communist states, moreover, are little more than nominal members, having forefeited their voting rights by non-payment of dues. In any case the dropping of existing members is a different matter from the admission of new ones. The prospect of having Franco Spain in UNESCO angers and disgusts all people who sincerely believe that the agency stands for something that may become increasingly valuable in future years.

The admission of Spain now would be a baldly political act—a means of getting the regime accepted "gradually" in more and more places; UNESCO is the last place where Franco Spain could possibly "fit." Its lack of cultural and educational freedom, the complete subservience of its universities to the Catholic church, would hardly make it a loyal and enthusiastic member of the organization. The Spanish dictator has already shown how he feels about UNESCO's work. Many of its publications have been barred from Spain, among them "The Human Rights Exhibition Album" and various educational books aiming at a better international understanding.

The widespread feeling against the admission of Spain to UNESCO will be voiced when the question is discussed at the agency's general conference opening in Paris on November 12. Last May the U. N. Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution saying it had "no objection" to Spain's entering UNESCO, but many people hope that the representatives of countries like France, Britain, and the United States will "think again" when the final decision has to be taken by UNESCO itself. It will be recalled that among those who voted against the Economic and Social Council's resolution were the delegates of Uruguay and Mexico; Mexico is the country of Torres Bodet, the director general of UNESCO, who certainly has its future at heart.

For financial and other reasons UNESCO may not be all that it should be, but why do something that can only make it worse?

ALEXANDER WERTH

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War Without End?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

IF ANY further proof were needed that only a new, radical approach to the problem of ending the Korean war can extricate the United Nations from its present state of impotence, the debate this week in the Political Committee has furnished it once and for all. The difficulties which the U. N. has encountered in attempting to end the hostilities in Korea, while at the same time participating as a co-belligerent, are augmented by the American insistence that any concession to Communist China is a betrayal of political morality. This propaganda emanates from the most varied sources—isolationists as well as interventionists, liberals as well as reactionaries.

In this situation it was probably impossible for the spokesman of the United States to do more than he did in his three-hour speech on October 26—that is, present capably the American record and position. Mr. Acheson's report was an effective piece of special pleading but completely negative in a diplomatic and political sense. It gave Mr. Vishinsky abundant material for an answer a quarter of an hour longer, delivered with a vigor which contradicted the rumor that he had grown old and tired.

For Mr. Acheson, the important thing was to show that the Korean war was inspired, equipped, and maintained by Moscow. For Mr. Vishinsky, it was to prove that the attempt to put the responsibility for the initial attack on North Korea directly—though in fact on the Soviet Union—was based upon an arbitrary action of the United Nations, which had named North Korea the aggressor without giving it a hearing. But while this controversy was being carried on by the major adversaries, the rest of the committee had a different interest. What the majority of the delegates wanted to hear was whether either side had any new ideas as to how to bring about the end of the Korean war.

Except for the proposal, signed by nineteen other states, that the Assembly throw its weight behind an appeal to the Chinese and North Koreans to accept the principle of voluntary repatriation of prisoners, which the United Nations negotiators have persistently defended at Panmunjom, Mr. Acheson had nothing to offer. Mr. Vishinsky concluded his speech by asking the United Nations to hand over the problem of ending the war to a new United Nations commission so constituted as to guarantee a fresh approach to this most intricate question. Such a commission, he asserted, should be composed of "the parties directly concerned and of other states not participating in the war in Korea." It was easy to deduce that this meant, in addition perhaps to Russia itself, Communist China and North Korea as counterbalances to South Korea, together with influential neutral countries, such as India, whose authority in the U. N. in regard to Korean concerns is indisputable.

The mention of Communist China even by implication was enough to cause certain delegations to dismiss the Vishinsky proposal as a repetition of the attempt made last year at the Palais de Chaillot to remove the truce negotiations from Panmunjom and bring them before the United Nations. Last year, however, the Soviet initiative could still be rejected on grounds which sounded very strong: it was considered inadvisable to make such a shift while the negotiations in the theater of war were in progress and apparently had a chance of succeeding. In the present Assembly this argument has lost 90 per cent of its force. The truce talks are at a standstill, and as long as the United Nations continues to adhere rigidly to its position on the repatriation of prisoners, there seems to be no way of ending the stalemate except by returning to General MacArthur's policy and stepping up the war in Korea. Mr. Lloyd of Britain and M. Hoppenot of France, while opposed to the Vishinsky proposal, offered no other solution. But Ambassador Palar of Indonesia expressed the increasing desire of the Asians, as well as of the Arab states and Mexico, to find a new basis of discussion.

If there is not to be an expansion of the war, the truce negotiations will have to be filled with a new content. As things stand today, no merely "military" negotiations will end the Korean struggle. The Communist armies have built up too much strength for anyone to believe that, with no quid pro quo, they will yield on the prisoner question, which has become a major political issue. If we maintain that the solution lies in Moscow, is it even mildly realistic to imagine that Russia, seeing no likelihood of an accord on Germany or of a Big Four conference to discuss outstanding differences, will render American diplomacy the service of extricating it from an almost impossible situation in Korea? On the contrary, since the Russians obviously do not believe there will be general war in the near future, their natural inclination is to fold their arms and wait, in the expectation that the conflicts of viewpoint and interest which have arisen among the members of the Atlantic coalition on the subject of the Korean war will eventually split it apart.

The situation would be different if negotiations to reestablish peace in Korea were to be based on new proposals—if, for example, the question of the eventual admission of Communist China, or of a general conference on Asian problems, were discussed collaterally. From this point of view a new commission like that proposed by Mr. Vishinsky would feel freer to explore beyond the narrow problem of the exchange of prisoners—this, of course, on the assumption that there really is a desire to end the war in Korea. If there is not, no proposal, however original and constructive it may appear, will have the slightest value.

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The Rosenberg Case

BY ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

JULIUS and Ethel Rosenberg are held in Sing Sing prison awaiting execution. They were given the death penalty by Judge Samuel H. Kaufman, having been found guilty of violating the Espionage Act by supplying secret information to Russia. Said the sentencing judge: "I consider your crime worse than murder."

The judgment was affirmed by the United States Court of Appeals. Certiorari was denied by the United States Supreme Court. At this writing a rehearing is under consideration by that court.

Why the uneasiness about this case? Is it due to leftist propaganda? What support, if any, is there for the claim that these people are innocent, or that they did not have a fair trial?

It is true that they were convicted on the testimony of co-conspirators and confessed spies. It is charged that the testimony of Greenglass and his wife, the chief witnesses against the Rosenbergs, was induced by an agreement with the prosecutor that Ruth Greenglass would not be prosecuted and that David Greenglass would receive a relatively light sentence.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, together with David Greenglass, Anatoli Yakolev, and Morton Sobell, were charged with conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act by communicating secret information to Russia between 1944 and 1950, with intent and reason to believe that the information was to be used to the advantage of Russia. Harry Gold, who had pleaded guilty in another court, and Ruth Greenglass were named in the indictment as co-conspirators, not as defendants. David Greenglass, a brother of Ethel Rosenberg, was stationed as a soldier at the Los Alamos Atomic Experimental Station. He testified that he conveyed information and sketches to the Rosenbergs and their emissaries which, it was charged, they turned over to Russia. Harry Gold had, at the command of Yakolev, met with Klaus Fuchs, the British scientist and Russian spy working at Los Alamos. Greenglass testified that Julius Rosenberg admitted to him that he transmitted information to Russia on microfilm equipment and that he received rewards from the Russians in money and gifts. Rosenberg also, according to Greenglass, was associated in some way with Jacob Golos, his go-between having been Elizabeth Bentley. After Fuchs was arrested, the evidence showed that Rosenberg gave Greenglass some $5,000 which Greenglass claimed was to enable him to leave the country. Rosenberg himself and his wife had passport photographs taken, apparently contemplating a getaway. The facts are complicated, but if Greenglass is to be believed they fit into a picture like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, implicating all the defendants in the conspiracy to transmit information to Russia.

Russia was our ally in 1944, but under the statute a crime exists if secret information is turned over to a foreign government with reason to believe that the information may be of advantage to the recipient. The charge was not treason. The defendants were not indicted or tried for giving aid to an enemy. In a treason trial there would have been certain constitutional safeguards. Thus, the defendants argue that the crime of which they were accused was of the same kind as treason but of a lesser degree, and that they were at least entitled to the constitutional protections which would have been required in a treason trial. Further, the argument runs that traditionally and by statute the courts have been authorized to impose the death penalty for treason, and that to authorize such a sentence for a similar but less grave offense is to permit cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Constitution. It was argued that the political views of the defendants, the fact that they were Communists, naturally prejudiced the jury against them, and that the question of whether or not they were Communists should have played no part in the trial. The court held that this evidence was relevant. Said Judge Frank of the United States Court of Appeals:

> An American's devotion to another country's welfare cannot of course constitute proof that he has spied for that other country. But the jurors may reasonably infer that he is more likely to spy for it than other Americans not similarly devoted.

It is alleged that the concept of treason was emphasized during the trial, although that was not the crime charged. The answer is that the term "treason" was used in a general not in a technical sense.

The jury has spoken. The Appellate Court has spoken; the opinion of Judge Frank began, "Since two of the defendants must be put to death if the judgment stands, it goes without saying that we have scrutinized the record with extraordinary care."

In view of all this, why the fuss about the Rosenbergs? The answer lies in the penalty, the sentence of death. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are lodged in Sing Sing awaiting execution. As the trial court said, it is hard to conceive of a crime which, as events have transpired,

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could have more vicious consequences. Yet we cannot forget that Klaus Fuchs, the scientist and chief conspirator in this whole business, was tried in England and sentenced to only fourteen years in jail, and that in the Canadian spy trials the sentences were relatively light. We may try, but we cannot forget the two young Rosenberg children.

So far as I know, there is no precedent for a death penalty in a case like this. We cannot help feeling that giving information to an ally (we must bear in mind, however, that the Rosenbergs continued to give information when Russia was no longer an ally and was in a sense an enemy) is not so serious as giving information to the enemy and that if this is a lesser crime the penalty ought to be less. These considerations apparently moved Circuit Judge Frank, who felt constrained to hold that the appellate court had no power to reduce the sentence. Judge Frank said:

> In support of that contention [that the penalty should be reduced] they assert the following: that they did not act from venal or pecuniary motives; except for this conviction, their records as citizens and parents are unblemished; at the most, out of idealistic motives they gave secret information to Soviet Russia when it was our war-time ally; for this breach they are sentenced to die, while those who, according to the government, were their confederates, at least equally implicated in war-time espionage—Harry Gold, Emil Fuchs, Elizabeth Bentley, and the Greenglasses—get off with far lighter sentences or go free altogether. Finally, they argue, the death sentence is unprecedented in a case like this: No civil court has ever imposed this penalty in an espionage case, and it has been imposed by such a court in two treason cases only.

There is a suggestion in connection with the death penalty that the Supreme Court might "well think it desirable to review that aspect of our decision in the case."

It is the damnable death penalty that causes the uneasiness. To avoid this horrible killing by the state, argument is made that the trial was unfair, and some people, mostly leftists I take it, are claiming that the Rosenbergs are innocent. If this judgment is carried through, we shall make martyrs of the Rosenbergs, perhaps not to many people in the United States, but to millions in other parts of the world. You can imagine what would be our own emotional response if two Russians were sentenced to death for supplying information to us while we were allied with Russia. Somehow, I cannot help feeling that the British treatment of Fuchs shows a higher degree of civilization than the sentence in this case.

Colombia: Political Volcano

BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

ONE thing to remember about Latin America is its paradoxical affinities amid disparities. Here are twenty countries as different from one another in most respects as the nations of Europe—except that eighteen of them have the same Spanish language. Yet touch a sensitive spot anywhere and the shock will be felt in every country, most strongly in the neighboring countries but perceptibly everywhere.

The tragedy that Colombians are enacting today seems to be having an exclusive run on their national stage. There is fortunately nothing comparable to it anywhere else in the hemisphere, if in the world; but neighboring Venezuela is already indirectly involved, vast financial investments could be jeopardized, a source of contention is shaping up for every Latin American country as people take sides with either Conservatives or Liberals, and everywhere one finds the sense of foreboding that violence causes in a continent that has been the scene of so much internecine bloodshed.

A strange sort of civil war is going on in Colombia. This received striking expression on September 6, when a small organized group of Conservatives—not a mob—wrecked the offices and plants of the two great Liberal newspapers, *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador,* and burned down the houses of the Liberal ex-President, Alfonso Lopez, and of the director of the Liberal Party, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, as well as the party headquarters. It was a carefully directed and planned outrage, according to neutral observers in Bogotá. A nucleus of about fifty men—not the usual type of hired thugs—went about the job systematically. At no time were more than 150 to 200 men involved; naturally some hoodlums joined the fray. In fact, twenty or thirty men did the job on the two private homes.

Dr. Lopez's house was two doors away from that of Acting President Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez, who was in the country at the time but whose house was guarded by police and soldiers. These watched without lifting a finger. In fact, reliable witnesses say that soldiers were

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Alfonso Lopez

in the group which burned Dr. Lopez's house and at one time were firing their guns. The police were not actively involved—but of course they should have been, protecting property and arresting the culprits. Neither police nor army moved until the damage had been done.

These are the facts, and they are not based on hearsay or imagination. That is why it is generally believed in Bogotá that a militant group of Conservatives, determined to suppress the Liberal opposition by violence, was behind the outrage. It is also possible, in view of the conduct of the soldiers, that some army officers were involved. If the army is intervening in Colombian politics, as it has never done before, the consequences could be momentous.

What happened on that September afternoon and evening immediately reminded everyone of the uprising of April 9, 1948, when the ninth Pan-American Conference was meeting, with General George C. Marshall as one of the distinguished delegates. In fact, the story really begins there, although the 1948 *Bogotazo* was itself an explosion of long-pent-up forces.

It is literally true in Colombia that "Every boy and every girl / That's born into the world alive / Is either a little Liberal / Or else a little Conservative." In the land of Gilbert and Sullivan this was an amusing statement of the normal rivalry of political parties; it did not mean that Liberals and Conservatives wanted to cut each other's throats. The Colombians spent the greater part of the nineteenth century doing just that. They had no fewer than seventy revolutions or civil wars up to 1903. Then the fighting stopped, after a terrible holocaust, and for forty-five years Colombia provided a fine example of a tolerant, two-party system of democratic government—the democracy being somewhat relative, especially when it came to elections, but none the less real. The country was, in fact, a model for Latin America; yet it threw its democracy away. For this both the Liberals and the Conservatives were to blame.

In 1943 the Pan-American Union put out a pamphlet which said: "Colombia has shown a remarkable growth in sound and orderly methods of government. High standards of public administration prevail, and government leaders have displayed unusual political sense and moderation. Elections are free, the press is uncensored, and the government has been more and more responsive to public opinion." This was written during the second term of Alfonso Lopez, the very man whose house was burned down by Conservatives on September 6. Dr. Lopez was—and is—a moderate; they all were, in both parties, during those years. The moderate Conservative and the moderate Liberal had as much in common as American Republicans and Democrats. They were hard put to find doctrinal differences, and to this day they cannot explain what happened to bring about the hatred and bloodshed of the last five years.

CLEARLY, control passed from the moderates to the extremists, and it apparently did so first in the Liberal Party, although the Liberals claim that the adoption of falangism and fascism by Conservative extremists during the Spanish civil war (1936-39) started the trouble. A Liberal demagogue, Jorge Eliecer Gaitán, acquired a large popular following and split the Liberals in the presidential elections of 1946. As a result, a Conservative, Mariano Ospina Perez, won a plurality, not a majority, and became President. The Conservatives have been a minority party ever since, so far as one can see, but they have never lost their grip on the government.

The Bogotá uprising of 1948 occurred when Gaitán was assassinated in the streets of the capital. The killer was lynched on the spot and his accomplices were never identified. Foreign Communists were there—ready and organized, with a methodical plan and the arms to carry it out—but there were few Colombian Communists, and despite hysterical charges at the time, it was not a Liberal-Communist plot. It was simply a case of the Communists taking advantage of the existing situation, which had been brought to the explosion point by the hatred that had developed between the Liberals and Conservatives. The lid blew off and a fearful brew was disclosed. The outstanding victims in those few days of violence were the Conservatives, and especially the future President, Laureano Gomez, whose newspaper, *El Siglo*, was destroyed and whose home was burned. It has been a stock argument of the Conservative apologists that the Liberals were just as bad when they were in power, but aside from the fact that this is a gross exaggeration, it is never true that two wrongs make a right.

For a while, the *Bogotazo* frightened both sides into relative calm, but explosive forces were again gathering strength. In March, 1947, and again in May, 1949, Congressional elections left the Liberals with majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives, but the President, Ospina Perez, was Conservative, and when the Liberals moved to impeach him in November, 1949, he clamped down a state of siege. This was on the eve of another presidential election.

According to the Liberals, the elections of November, 1949, were won by a simple procedure—for which there were precedents. An atmosphere was created in

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which great numbers of Liberals would have had to risk their lives to vote for the Liberal ticket. So they boycotted the elections, with the natural result that the Conservatives elected their candidate, Laureano Gomez. The Congressional elections in September, 1951, packed Congress with hand-picked Conservatives, and it has been that way ever since.

It so happens that Colombia is a country where the spoils system operates to the hilt. The party that wins appoints just about every functionary in the country; and since the Liberals had been in power for sixteen years, their adherents held all the jobs. The Conservatives not only swept them out but cut loose with a ferocious burst of violence before and after the 1949 elections, in which many Liberals lost their lives and thousands were driven from their homes and farms into banditry. As always in such circumstances, there is no way of proving which side started the bloodshed. Possibly it was all mixed up, but the Liberals took by far the greater punishment, and that is why one sees it as a case of Conservative oppression. The Conservatives were on top; they had the power in the form of police, soldiers, and arms, and many of the judges were their men.

IN ANY event, this violence was the beginning of what can now be called Colombia's civil war. Retaliation by the Liberals set up a vicious round which has never ended. The national police and troops—poorly trained, badly disciplined, irresponsible youths for the most part—made matters worse. They had great provocation. The authenticated tales of bestial torture and execution by both sides give one the shivers. "We are riding a wildly spinning wheel," wrote the Conservative newspaper *El Colombiano* of Medellin on September 11, "where today's victims become tomorrow's executioners and these, in turn, the future victims. Each victim feeds on a sentiment of retaliation, so that there will be enough hatred in Colombia for the next 150 years."

The worst focus of strife, or "banditry" as it came to be called, was in the *llanos*—the plains of the northeast, bordering on Venezuela—but other regions also became infested with armed bands. Out-and-out criminals, some released from the jails in the 1948 rioting, naturally joined them and often became leaders, thereby somewhat confusing the ideological struggle. The government kept up the fiction that these were bandits—that is, criminals; the Liberals called them by the honored name of guerrillas. But both sides recognized that the lawlessness was a part of the Liberal-Conservative struggle.

It is an uneven struggle, for the fighting Liberals are unorganized, scattered, and poorly armed, and the home-staying Liberals are weakly led, and their political machine has been virtually destroyed. A revolution is an impossibility in such circumstances.

The struggle follows the line of typical Spanish guerrilla fighting. Its effect depends on its extent and persistence. The Napoleonic armies in Spain, for instance, found it an intolerable drain. Generalissimo Franco, on the other hand, is bothered little by it. In Colombia it is becoming almost unbearable, and that is what provoked the September 6 outrage and what is bringing the civil strife to a crisis. The news of that incident appeared in the North American press as if out of a clear sky, but those in touch with Colombia have watched the long, steady process with growing dismay. From cities to towns to villages to isolated farms, the violence has gone its destructive way, often exploding as if by spontaneous combustion. As we saw in our own Civil War, and as Spain learned to its cost, there is a peculiar intensity of bitterness and hatred about civil conflict. It somehow seems worse than a war between different countries and races.

Religious intolerance has been a natural concomitant of the tension, and the few Protestants—Colombian and foreign—are being persecuted.

One of the paradoxes of the situation is that these years of strife have been years of growing prosperity. Foreign capital invested in Colombia now totals around $400,000,000. Coffee, the principal crop, is fetching continually high prices. Industry is flourishing, and there is a building boom. At the same time Colombia has the typical hierarchy of a small, wealthy ruling class, an underpaid and neglected middle class, and a mass of poverty-stricken workers and peasants. Social and economic inequities have had a great deal to do with the discontent and violence of recent years, even though these have taken a political form.

The sympathies of the outside world have gone to the Liberals. During their tenure of power from 1930 to 1946 they ruled with decency and with honest regard for democratic institutions. The incidents to which the Conservatives now point were exceptions, not the rule. Three weeks before the November, 1949, elections, the Ospina Perez government proclaimed a state of siege and a censorship, and suspended Congress until a Conservative majority could be elected. President Laureano Gomez, the Conservative leader, got his ideas and methods from Franco Spain. Although he became ill in October, 1951, he has been directing affairs from behind the scenes, while Roberto Urdaneta is President-designate. Dr. Gomez's son, Alvaro, pub-

Laureano Gomez

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lisher of *El Siglo*, is considered an example of the tough, extreme wing of the Conservative Party.

The party has a dissident wing which probably represents a majority, but it has been held down with vigor and skill by Laureano Gomez. The actual head of this branch is a demagogue, Gilberto Alzate Avendaño, who has been pro-fascist and anti-American but is now moderate and pro-American; ex-President Ospina Perez is its titular leader. The hopes of many Colombians are placed in this group.

As long as Laureano Gomez remains President and is able to pull the strings, there seems little hope of concord. Laureano, as everyone calls him, seems to think only in terms of authoritarianism and is a man of strong and violent emotions. Dr. Urdaneta is by inclination a moderate and is given credit by all except his Liberal opponents for being a sincere, honest, patriotic citizen. One can only suppose that his power is far below his position as Acting President and that his feelings make a compromise with the Liberals inconceivable to him. One must always keep in mind that the hot-tempered, emotional, intense Colombian does not feel or think the way an Anglo-Saxon would in similar circumstances. Extremism is more natural than moderation in Colombia —as in many Latin American countries.

It would be unfair in any discussion of the situation today to overlook the fact that Colombia under the Conservatives is the only Latin American country with ground troops fighting in Korea. It is also one of the few in which there has been virtually no nationalism and anti-Yankeeism.

To try to predict what will happen in the coming critical months would be folly. One can say that the danger is very great and that compromise and pacification are unlikely. Clearly, the situation cannot go on much longer as it is without a descent into anarchy. The army leaders are obviously getting fed up with the casualties among the soldiers. That is why some people fear—and many hope for—an army coup, followed by a military junta which would maintain order until new elections could be held.

It is the realization that the situation is becoming intolerable which makes the rest of Latin America—and above all neighboring Venezuela—so nervous. Is there going to be an explosion or not? And if one comes, how damaging will it be?

The Smith Act—Baltimore Version

BY FRANK J. DONNER

WHEN the Smith act was passed in 1940 with President Roosevelt's approval, few people paid much attention to it. All eyes were on the war in Europe. Nor was any great interest aroused by the indictment and conviction under the act of certain trade-union leaders and their political associates in Minneapolis in 1941.* The defendants belonged to an unpopular political minority, and, again, people were thinking about the war. When the eleven Communist leaders were indicted in 1949, the timing indicated that the action was aimed at arresting the third-party movement. "Politics," people said. The melodrama of the trial before Judge Medina overshadowed the larger issues: people still did not realize what was happening. Then came the Baltimore and Los Angeles convictions, the Honolulu and Pittsburgh indictments, at present awaiting trial, and the still more recent arrest of eighteen minor Communist functionaries, including several well-known trade-unionists. Twelve years have now passed since the Smith act was slipped through Congress as a rider to the Alien Registration Act, and it is time that the American people realized what is happening. To this end they should take a careful look at the decision of the United States Court of Appeals in the Baltimore case affirming the convictions of six persons on a charge of conspiracy to violate the Smith act.

The Smith act makes punishable as crimes the following four types of conduct directed at the overthrowing of the government by force and violence: (1) teaching and advocacy; (2) the printing, publishing, editing, circulation, selling and distribution, or public display of written or printed matter teaching, advocating, or advising; (3) organizing or helping to organize a society or group which teaches, advocates, or encourages; and (4) becoming a member of or affiliating with such a group, knowing its purposes. The Supreme Court affirmed the convictions of the eleven Communist leaders in New York for a conspiracy to violate the provisions against teaching and advocacy and organizing. Its action seriously weakens the protection of the First Amendment.

But the Court of Appeals decision in the Baltimore

*I. F. Stone discussed this case in an article called The G-String Conspiracy printed in *The Nation* of July 26, 1941.

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case extends the Smith act to areas left untouched by the New York, or Dennis, case. If it is permitted to stand, membership in an organization or the circulation of literature can result in a prison sentence of five years and a fine of $10,000, provided a jury can be persuaded—no difficult task in times such as these—that the organization or the books teach or advocate doctrines proscribed by the Smith act, and that the member knows the organization's purpose and has a guilty intent.

Supreme Court review of this decision is now being sought. If the court accepts the case for review, its judgment will have a decisive impact upon all the other Smith act cases, whether pending trial, on trial, or on appeal. The decision will determine the immediate future of constitutional liberties in this country.

THE Baltimore case furnishes disturbing proof that repression is contagious, that attacks on civil liberties cannot be confined to a particular kind of restraint or class of individual. In the Dennis case the Supreme Court justified the convictions by accepting the government's contention that the defendants were too dangerous to be permitted to enjoy the protection of the First Amendment, since as members of the national board of the Communist Party they were in a unique position to make policy, wield power, and exercise control over the entire party. The Court of Appeals, in affirming the Baltimore convictions, totally ignored the limitations of the Dennis decision. Judge Parker, in approving the extremely broad membership and literature provisions of the Smith act, relied on the Dennis case, although those provisions were in no way involved in it.

Judge Parker eliminated all constitutional problems by declaring that "the question presented is not one as to freedom of speech." This pronouncement must be regarded as one of the major mysteries of modern jurisprudence. But he also sought to bury the weighty constitutional questions presented in another way—by ruling that the First Amendment does not apply to a conspiracy case. The four justices who subscribed to the major opinion in the Dennis case, Justice Frankfurter in his concurring opinion, and the two justices who dissented, all agreed that free-speech standards must be applied where the object of a conspiracy is the exercise of free speech. Only Justice Jackson in a separate concurrence took a contrary view. Thus Judge Parker seized upon the view of one justice of the Supreme Court and ignored the position of seven others with respect to the scope of the protection of the First Amendment.

Judge Parker proceeded as though the mere finding by a jury that a conspiracy exists is sufficient to erase the protections of the First Amendment. But in the Dennis case the Supreme Court made it clear that it is the extent of participation of the accused in the conspiracy, the danger presented by his conduct, and evidence with respect to his intent that determine the constitutionality of a conviction under the Smith act. The Supreme Court stated that "where there is doubt as to the intent of the defendants, the nature of their activities, or their power to bring about the evil, this court will review the convictions with a scrupulous care demanded by our Constitution." It seems clear that the convictions in the Baltimore case were not reviewed by the appellate court with that "scrupulous care."

Though the text of the Baltimore indictment made it clear that the objects of the conspiracy charged were confined to teaching and advocating, and organizing a group to advocate, Judge Chesnut, the trial judge, stated in his instructions to the jury that the indictment charged a conspiracy to violate all the provisions of the Smith act, including the literature and membership provisions. He told the jury it could find the defendants guilty if it decided they conspired to violate the statute "in any one" of the four ways referred to above.

It seems manifest that the broader membership and literature provisions were submitted to the jury as a basis for the defendants' guilt only because there was no evidence that would sustain a conviction for conspiring to advocate and organize. In fact, the evidence concerning the defendants' conduct related almost exclusively to membership and the holding of office. This variance between the indictment and the instructions to the jury violated fundamental due-process requirements and the guaranty of the Sixth Amendment that defendants have "the right to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation."

BUT the trial judge did more than inject into the case conspiracy to violate two provisions of the Smith act heretofore unused because so dangerous. In effect, he instructed the jury that they could find the defendants guilty without finding a conspiracy in a legal sense at all. This he did by practically equating the Communist Party with a conspiracy.

After years of effort, particularly through the trade unions' struggle for legal existence, we have eradicated from the law the notion that an unincorporated association is a conspiracy if one of its objectives may be condemned as illegal, and that a member of an unincorporated association may be vicariously liable for acts in which he has not participated if those acts go beyond the association's charter. In the Baltimore case all these limitations upon the conspiracy concept were abandoned. The case was submitted to the jury as though the Communist Party were a vast ready-made, judicially condemned conspiracy of which the defendants became a part by joining it. Under the court's charge, if the jury found that the Communist Party taught proscribed doctrine, the defendants were guilty of a conspiracy to violate all the substantive provisions of the Smith

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act by the mere fact of membership. Not the defendants but the Communist Party was placed on trial, and the conspiracy of which the defendants were convicted was that of joining the Communist Party and remaining members of it.

Proof that this alleged conspiracy had evil objectives was not based on what the defendants themselves said or did. The great bulk of the testimony admitted against them came from agents, informers, and employees of the Department of Justice. Almost all of it was not only of a highly prejudicial character and extremely remote in time but totally unconnected with their conduct. In short, the case was tried not as a criminal-law trial but as a legislative hearing in which a witness is permitted freely to denounce the political objectives of an organization and its members without regard to the rules of evidence, in particular the rules against hearsay and opinion evidence.

A reading of Judge Parker's decision shows how wide the case has opened the door to mass trials in which guilt is imputed solely by association: ". . . conspiracies of the sort here involved are properly thought of, not as agreements, but as partnerships in criminal purposes or as organizations for furthering such purposes. Guilt is established when an organization with such criminal purposes is shown to have existed and defendants are shown to have joined it with knowledge of such purposes." But liability arising from participation in a partnership or an unincorporated association likewise rests on agreement, and the law of conspiracy cannot be altered because an unpopular minority is involved.

Judge Parker's reasoning should come as no surprise, for his views on conspiracy have significant antecedents. It was he who in 1927 approved a sweeping anti-labor injunction against the United Mine Workers, its officers and members, in the notorious Red Jacket case. This injunction rested in part upon the theory that in seeking to unionize West Virginia coal miners who had signed "yellow-dog" contracts, the union, its officers and members, had engaged in a criminal conspiracy because the means used—inducing breach of "yellow-dog" contracts—were illegal. Judge Parker was nominated for the Supreme Court by President Hoover and was rejected by the Senate principally because of the Red Jacket injunction. A second reason for his rejection was his Negro-baiting during the 1920 governorship campaign in North Carolina and the resulting opposition of the N. A. A. C. P.

By predicating conspiratorial guilt upon the act of joining an association with knowledge of its criminal purposes, the court has again made the conspiracy concept a serious menace to the right of free assembly and association.

The constitutional issues raised by the Baltimore case cannot be ignored by any American concerned with the survival of democracy in this country. Judicial approval of the convictions would mean approval of book burning and mass trials of political dissenters. It would mean that labor organizations and other unincorporated associations could be condemned as criminal conspiracies if their objectives were found to be within the broad scope of the Smith act. On the other hand, a reversal of the convictions would serve notice that the Justice Department had overplayed its hand and mark a start on the road back to constitutional sanity.

Jim Crow: A Problem in Diplomacy

BY WILLIAM A. RUTHERFORD

Paris

THE day after Harry and Harriet Moore were buried in Florida, a group of Negro and white leaders from various religious and civic organizations told Governor Fuller Warren: "We have come to express the grief and indignation of hundreds of thousands in every state in the union. The increasing atrocities and mounting terror against the Negro people are not only bringing ruinous disgrace to the state but shame and discredit to our nation in the eyes of the entire world."

The truth of this statement, extreme as it is, cannot be denied. Recently President Auriol of France, defending France's record in North Africa, spoke of "certain disorders and certain miseries elsewhere" which show that "it is easier to give lessons than to give examples." His words were interpreted by his listeners as a reference to the treatment of Negroes in the United States and evoked a storm of applause. Europeans are unquestionably interested in how we are coping with our "color problem," and it is appropriate to ask what our representatives abroad have said and done to enlighten them.

At the first Peace Conference called by the Communists in Paris in 1948 Paul Robeson, making the keynote speech for the American delegation, declared that many American Negroes could not vote, find jobs, or obtain adequate educational, health, or living facilities. He spoke of the terrors which oppress Negro Americans North and South and compared their condition with that of "oppressed" people throughout the world. The Amer-

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ican embassy at once asked the anti-Communist Negro novelist, Richard Wright, to record a speech in reply. Wright refused, saying he did not agree with Robeson politically but could not quarrel with anything he had said about the plight of American Negroes. The United States government, he maintained, could cut the ground from under Robeson's feet simply by taking measures to change the things he condemned.

A year later Wright was invited to address the "counter peace conference" organized in Paris by Sidney Hook and James T. Farrell with the support of American labor unions and other groups. Before he spoke, an American consular official demanded that he "soft-pedal" the situation of American Negroes. He refused. The official pressed his point with the argument that "we mustn't wash our dirty linen abroad," and let slip a remark to the effect that "after all, we have a lot of money tied up in this conference." Thereupon Wright withdrew completely from the conference.

At the time of the agitation over the case of Willie McGee various foreign-service agencies saw the necessity of taking the initiative to overcome the hostility of the European press and public. The Economic Cooperation Administration, which maintained a huge information service in Europe, finally commissioned James Baldwin, a young Negro writer living abroad on a scholarship, to write an article on the American Negro. Baldwin produced an eight-page theoretical analysis of the development of the American Negro and emphasized the impossibility of white Americans, colored Americans, or anyone else ever being able to understand the situation.

Some months ago Edith Sampson, who was an alternate United States delegate to the U. N. in 1950, the first Negro to serve with an American delegation, was asked to give a series of talks in Germany. Speaking under the auspices of the High Commissioner, Mrs. Sampson described the condition of Negroes in America as "wonderful." "Negroes are happier in the United States," she said without a blush, "than they would be any place else in the world. Those that do not like it can leave." "Certainly some Americans are bad," she continued, "but the vast majority are good. I myself am an example and a proof that American Negroes are not denied opportunities." She insisted that anything said to the contrary was a baseless attack on America.

I covered several of Mrs. Sampson's lectures and heard an American information officer say point-blank, "This sort of cover-up does more harm than good. Why don't they send us a serious, objective speaker? After six years of occupation these people know the American scene better than that."

In November of last year, when the U. N. General Assembly was in session in Paris, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Vishinsky, accused the United States of violating human rights by lynching Negroes and referred specifically to the killing of a Negro prisoner in Groveland, Florida, by the sheriff who was guarding him. Dr. Channing Tobias, alternate delegate and second Negro to serve with a United States delegation to the U. N., was chosen to answer him. Dr. Tobias first made countercharges about Russian slave-labor camps and then described the progress made by American Negroes. Few papers carried his speech.

When William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, went to Paris to present a petition to the U. N. charging the United States government with genocide against the Negro people, he ran into a wall of silence. When he persevered in his request for a hearing, the official American reaction was a demand for his passport. Several newspapers learned of the story, and the press of the world had a field day.

This time the United States Information Service got busy and devoted a complete issue of its bi-monthly bulletin to "The Negro in American Life." European editors, however, seemed unimpressed, and the booklet, which avoided all mention of segregation, poll taxes, or lynching, was completely overshadowed in the news by the contentions of the genocide petition.

Less than a month later Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, in an exclusive interview granted me as correspondent for the Associated Negro Press, described the situation of Negroes in America as "bad." The genocide petition, she said, was "a well-drawn document . . . not presented with spurious reasoning as is often the case," but the charge was "ridiculous in terms of the United Nations definition [of genocide as systematic destruction]." The petition, she added, might "do some good in focusing world attention on the bad situation in America." When asked whether she thought United Nations intervention in behalf of South African Indians and natives would justify such intervention in behalf of American Negroes, she replied: "Yes, such action would be morally justified. The American delegation has always voted against South Africa on this question and is against all actions in violation of human rights."

The ambiguity of the State Department's "line" about the American Negro is certainly harming the American honesty rating abroad. The evolution of the world's colonial peoples—all of them colored peoples—is changing the course of world affairs, and the United States is being held responsible for its actions just as much as is France, England, or any other colonial power. Americans may maintain that social change cannot be brought about by legislation, but the people of India, Iran, and other Asiatic countries know that it can be. Legislation against untouchability in India, for example, has accomplished a great deal. Are we likely to inspire trust among foreigners when we cannot honestly discuss facts known to the whole world or even try to deal with problems other peoples have taken energetic action to solve? Jim Crow at home seems to have bankrupted our diplomatic resources even more than has a boiling Africa or Asia.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Artists' International

BY S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Pittsburgh

THE Pittsburgh, formerly the Carnegie, International is under new management. It has new sponsors, and a new director, Gordon B. Washburn, chose the paintings. For the first time in its fifty-six-year history it offers not so much a cross-section of everything now being done as an indication of what the director believes is valid in contemporary painting the world over. Visitors have until December 14 to ponder the results, and after that the exhibition moves to the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco—the first time it has ever traveled from Pittsburgh.

Like its predecessors, it is too large. To absorb the contents of 305 paintings takes more time than the morning and afternoon I gave to it. Yet it is smaller by sixty items than the previous shows. This wise restriction made it possible to space the pictures far enough apart to be properly seen; not to have done so would have been disastrous for the bold abstract designs which predominate. The dreary, burlap halls of the Carnegie Institute have been cleverly veneered in cardboard painted middle gray or dark olive, and in the largest gallery the ceiling has been lowered by suspending a tent-like canopy. But the exhibition covers two floors of galleries, and on the scale that exists one of them is inevitably anti-climactic. With eighty-five fewer pictures, the whole affair could be presented on one floor, where it would at least give the illusion of being comprehensible. As thirty-five of the European painters have two paintings each (and everyone else only one), elimination of such generosity would require a further subtraction of only fifty paintings to accomplish the result. In 1954 I hope it will be done.

Whether Pittsburghers will admit that this painting is as contemporaneous as their industrial technology or the new steel and aluminum buildings of their replanned Golden Triangle remains to be seen. No longer can they assume that the sort of painting here represented is merely a marginal product, to be tolerated in small doses as a gesture to fair play. While there are more conservative pictures than the publicity led me to expect, they provide cold comfort for the opposition. As a whole, the exhibition gives overwhelming evidence that if art is still a force which draws men together it does so today through the language of non-objectivity.

Make no mistake about it, Gordon Washburn has raised the aesthetic ante, and to do so took courage.

I think the jury chose well, though I should have given first or near-first prizes to two Germans who did not even receive an honorable mention. Fritz Winter and Theodor Werner both manage to arrive at symbolic allusion through pure visual invention and without recourse to any tricks of recognition. The Ben Nicholson, which gained first prize, looks emotionally parched in their company. It rather resembles a big Braque still life of the 1920's, but so bleached and refined that it somehow suggests that greyhound sort of humanity, the gentle dynasty of Sir Anthony Van Dyck. If, as I suspect, the Cornwall mists float subtly across its surface, these are more than matched by Fritz Winter's red atomic fires.

Juries are commonly plagued by the Nobel Prize attitude. Is the award to be given for the picture in question, or is it about time to crown a distinguished career? Though I wondered which view prevailed in the Nicholson case, no such doubt occurred to me in connection with the second-prize landscape by Gromaire, whose formal and very French discipline has often led to arid results. The present work is rich and resonant. It is classic in the best sense: the discipline did not feed upon itself but operated to clarify a deeply emotional experience.

As in past exhibitions, American painting is allotted one-third of the total representation. Here some pruning would be desirable. A start could be made among modern practitioners of Maxfield Parrish's pretty vacuums. (Promised Land and The Wind that Blew the Sky Away are the titles of two of them.) A further improvement would be possible by substituting better examples, notably of Loren MacIver, Franz Kline, and Jackson Pollock, whose Number 27-1951 is greatly inferior to the works included in Fifteen Americans last spring at the Museum of Modern Art. My notes indicate less strenuous objection to the examples of Shahn, Congdon, Baziotes, and Kurt Roesch. I found little point in the inclusion of a trick number by Brian Connelly—The Spectrum, a Painting in Four Acts. When you fold back the central leaves of this polyptych four successive color schemes are revealed, and in each there is something like the effect of a Flemish interior plus the reflections on the cover glass plus a totally academic still life. Four Acts, but no Saints.

Despite these and other disappointments, the American section holds up well in quality on the average, and of the best there is no shortage on this side of the Atlantic. I was strongly impressed by Charles Sibley, Louis Schanker, and Adolph Gottlieb; impressed by James Brooks, Bradley Walker Tomlin, and Jack Tworkov; charmed by Gertrude Half; and easily seduced by Colleen Browning. Among the more conservative pictures Joseph Hirsch's Shoe Shop achieves a powerful effect; and to call it a Loren MacIver elegy about shoes framed in the violently silent red rectangles of Hopper does not do it justice.

Space prevents, of course, an adequate coverage of this big international, which is so international in impact that the local inflections are altogether subsidiary. But merely to mention the names of Jiro Yoshihara, Ludvig Eiklas, Marc Mendelson, Raoul Ubac, Hans Jaenisch, Leonardo Cremonini, and Veira da Silva may serve to indicate that there are talented youngish-to-young painters in Japan, Norway, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal. And they could all understand one another.

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The Education of Wendell Willkie

WILLKIE. By Joseph Barnes. Simon and Schuster. $5.

THE author of this sympathetic biography, Joseph Barnes, is a former foreign editor of the New York *Herald Tribune* and editor of the New York *Star* who served as secretary and interpreter on Willkie's "One World" tour. He has utilized all available source material to provide the best account we are likely to have of Wendell Willkie. Properly, most of the emphasis is given to the years after 1939, when Willkie became first a national figure and then an international inspiration. Adequate attention is devoted to those environmental and family influences which gave Willkie a profound belief in freedom for all people. His home town, Elwood, Indiana, had been industrialized by the natural-gas boom and then wrecked as industry departed with the exhaustion of cheap fuel. It provided a laboratory in which Willkie could observe the impact of industrialism on a simple rural economy. By 1940 he recognized that "Elwood's experience shows that individuals cannot carry through large-scale social readjustments—that society owes an obligation to its members when it leads them up a blind alley." But he ignored these implications until his campaign for the Presidency forced him to seek a political answer.

Instructed by a libertarian father who had courage both to break from the church and to challenge corporate power as a labor lawyer, Willkie came out of a home characterized by a "constant atmosphere of reading and discussion." Until drawn into politics he never questioned the dominant values of middle-class society. As a successful trial lawyer in Akron "he was always out to win," and there is no evidence to suggest that he had any doubts about the business system. "Actually, he seems to have taken the system much as he found it, trying to improve it where he could but basically interested in making it work, in serving his clients, and in making money—the traditional functions of a lawyer in American business." Nevertheless, the early influences may have been responsible for a quality of mind differentiating him from the dominant attitudes of his class.

There is a full and objective account of Willkie's conflict with the TVA and David Lilienthal on behalf of Commonwealth and Southern. Though Mr. Barnes makes a case for this as a struggle of principle, it is significant that in the 1940 election Willkie was unable to carry a single state where public power was an issue. It was this controversy that made him a national figure, provided much of his shrewd comprehension of Washington politics, and gave him "a burgeoning sense of his power to use political means to serve his ends." Between 1929, when he came to New York, and 1940 "he had grown up as a man and had become a mature and self-confident personality."

Appreciation for the stature of Wendell Willkie requires but a cursory glance at the substitutes for leadership the Republican Party has culled from the bench since 1920. By miracle or accident the professionals were off balance long enough for the Willkie amateurs to secure the nomination. In the perceptive summary of the late Raymond Clapper: "Once, by accident and not because the leaders of the party wished it, a real leader appeared—Wendell Willkie. He was forced on the party. But as soon as the election was over, the party leaders tossed him out. The Republican Party was even unable to recognize a real leader when it had the luck to find one on its doorstep."

By 1952 it was apparent that had Wendell Willkie lived neither major party would have considered him acceptable. For Willkie symbolized the conflict within the parties and the business community between enlightened conservatives and the more visceral types. In October, 1943, he could write that "some of the talk we hear about 'free enterprise' or 'private enterprise' is just propaganda on the part of powerful groups who have not practiced real enterprise in a generation and have no intention of doing so." He had come to recognize after a lifetime as a corporation lawyer that "we must distinguish between enterprise and private ownership. A corporation may be privately owned and still be the worst enemy of free enterprise." Though he was never able to resolve the conflict between economic power and political democracy, he, unlike his successors, understood that Americans must find a solution—or risk losing political and social freedom.

No other facet of Willkie's career distinguishes him more decisively than his perceptive courage in defending civil liberties. Mr. Barnes notes that "on no single issue throughout his business and his political career was Willkie so consistent or so articulate as on civil liberties." Although in his home state native American fascism was firmly rooted, Willkie actively fought the Ku Klux Klan there as well as in the 1924 Demo-

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cratic National Convention. He attacked the Dies committee and the abuse of Congressional investigation to destroy reputation by inference and innuendo. In 1940, while the Nazi-Soviet pact was still in force, he wrote: "Now, you may hate communism even more than you hate fascism (and I am surprised at the number who do) but if you truly believe in protection of civil liberties, you will wonder whether Browder was sentenced to four years in jail and a $2,000 fine because he made a false statement on a passport application or because he was a Communist Party member." The question is still relevant, though the prosecution has shifted to Mrs. Browder!

It is further evidence of Willkie's life-long devotion to the fight for civil liberties that, at his own expense, he pleaded the case of William Schneiderman, whose citizenship the government sought to revoke until the Supreme Court ruled in Schneiderman's favor. In 1951, when Schneiderman was indicted under the Smith act, there was no comparable figure prepared to stand out for sanity.

Time has added urgency to Willkie's advice in "One World": "To suppress minority thinking and minority expression would tend to freeze society and prevent progress. . . . Now more than ever we must keep in the forefront of our minds the fact that whenever we take away the liberties of those whom we hate, we are opening the way to loss of liberty for those we love."

H. H. WILSON

Miss Millay's Letters

LETTERS OF EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY. Edited by Allan Ross Macdougall. Harper and Brothers. $5.

LET us begin with the ungracious, and obvious, remark that no doubt a much better collection of Miss Millay's letters might have been made. Some items in this book should have been left out, and perhaps many items that are not in the book should have been put in. One could wish for the omission of some of the awfully cute material, notably some of the letters to the editor; and one cannot imagine a person of Miss Millay's reticence approving publication of some of the Ficke and Bynner correspondence. Moreover, the book gives off a strong smell of an unpleasant behind-the-scenes atmosphere: one senses, on the one hand, suspicion, withholding; on the other, an almost indecent urge to be in there, to justify someone's existence or behavior in the light of Miss Millay's life. Haste, carelessness: a notable example is the insertion, after page 107, of a page reading "VI—Steepletop—1926-1930" instead of "IV—European Trip—1921-1922." This is the kind of blunder that Miss Millay, if one can judge from other letters to her publishers, would have raised holy hell about; it is also, if quickly corrected, the sort of thing that will make a juicy collectors' item. Nice to be a reviewer, and in on the ground floor.

This said, we have, nevertheless, much to be grateful for. We have an interesting story, hectic, in the true sense of that much-misused word, an Alger-like rise from rags to riches and close to rags again, an alternation of trouble and peace, despair, distress and rejoicing, sickness and health, high and low spirit, affection, courage. We have interesting people, good people, notably the mother of the poet and the devoted husband, Mr. Boissevain. We have, too, quite a few characters who were, in plain English, not good enough for her. And this biography has an authentic style, rather rococo, to be sure, but with real virtues underlying its showy affectations: the love for mother and sisters and friends, the honest self-facing beneath the specious self-portraits, the valid enthusiasm below the mistaken—in my opinion—judgments. Not all rococo, either: in righteous wrath Miss Millay could be capable of a fierce baroque if not a Doric manner; witness some of the letters to her publishers, to Governor Fuller, to the Chancellor of New York University, to, most notably, the League of American Penwomen on the subject of their treatment of Elinor Wylie.

The correspondence appears voluminous, even while we suspect (*v. supra*) that there were many more, and some better, letters which have not been published in this book. Yet, Miss Millay repeats over and over again, she hated to write letters, had as it were a phobia for this form of literary activity. This may account for the fact that we find in her correspondence very little of what we might expect from any

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writer: discussion of her reading, her ideas about writing, her interest in the other arts, and so on. Had the book been fully indexed, the number of such references would have been relatively few. Evidently she read, as she wrote, a certain amount of trash: she was not the serious writer that a Virginia Woolf would be, or an Elizabeth Bowen; there was a good deal of the dilettante in her make-up. But she also could, and did, write well; and for this let no silliness be held too much against her. "There is much to be said for death," observes a character in Chesterton's "Man Who Was Thursday," "but if anyone has any preference for the other alternative, I strongly advise him to follow me." Miss Millay would have jumped, or even scrambled, most undignifiedly, to take advantage of the offer.

One *mot*, at the end of one of her letters to her publishers, seems too engaging not to quote: "Trusting, however, in closing that for one year more it may be said of me by Harper and Brothers that although I reject their proposals, I welcome their advances."

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Master Campaigner

CHAMPION CAMPAIGNER—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. By Harold F. Gosnell. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THE question whether campaigns make any significant difference in the outcome of national elections has been debated long and inconclusively by political scientists. While party politicians have always acted on the assumption that it is rational to expend vast sums of money, time, and emotion every four years, academic observers have been somewhat more skeptical. Harold Gosnell's excellent study of Franklin D. Roosevelt as a campaigner indicates that the professional politician may, after all, be right. Economic conditions and previous party allegiance may determine the decision of a majority of the electorate, but there is a telling, perhaps even decisive, minority that responds to the program of a party and the personality of a candidate.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, as this book carefully documents, was truly a champion campaigner. Mr. Gosnell analyzes his record—nine victories out of eleven tries for office—with fascinating (although sometimes sparse) detail. The story is so interesting that Mr. Gosnell's occasional clichés—"stood like a rock," "hitched his wagon to a star," "his goose was cooked"—do little to impede it.

What was the secret of F. D. R.'s immense success? Why did he consistently run ahead of the rest of his ticket? Why did he again and again confound the overwhelming opposition of the press? Mr. Gosnell rightly believes that the answer is complicated. Roosevelt's gift of charming friend and enemy alike was justly proverbial. Senator Borah once remarked that he never listened to Roosevelt's speeches because he was afraid that they might convert him to internationalism. F. D. R. genuinely liked people and—more important, as Machiavelli had noted four centuries earlier—appeared to like them. His physical handicap was a well-earned political asset; people did not vote for him out of pity but because they admired his courage and steadfastness. Then, too, he was a father-figure to a considerable segment of the electorate; millions loved to picture his invincible optimism by that famous cigarette holder clamped in his teeth at a jaunty angle. Mr. Gosnell makes some shrewd observations about F. D. R.'s qualities of leadership without descending too deeply into the morass of psychological jargon.

Roosevelt effectively supplemented these natural and acquired political qualities by meticulous attention to detail and by thorough, hard work. His first bid for the White House was carefully prepared and patiently timed: he did not run for the Presidency until he had firmly established a network of correspondence and personal friendship with Democratic politicians all over the country, and until he had become supremely available after his great electoral victory in 1930, in which he was re-elected Governor of New York by the impressive margin of 700,000 votes. His able helpers, foremost among whom—according to Mr. Gosnell—was his wife, relieved him of wearisome detail. But Roosevelt supervised all aspects of his campaigning; no matter how many writers collaborated in drafting his speeches, they all bore the unmistakable imprint of his personality.

Mr. Gosnell's analysis of Roosevelt's

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manipulative skills is most penetrating, but one significant ingredient of F. D. R. the master campaigner—his greatness—is lost in this process of dissection.

PETER GAY

Of Making and Doing

THE BUILD UP. By William Carlos Williams. Random House. $3.50.

"THE BUILD UP" is third in the series of novels of which "White Mule" (1937) and "In the Money" (1940) are the earlier parts. Written out of the same general preoccupation that appears in the long poem, "Paterson," and in the semi-historical sketches, "In the American Grain," they are one more way by which Dr. Williams has tried, patiently and discursively, to find the meaning in certain facts of American life. These, usually observed at first hand, he has studied and pondered; they have become for him symbols of some pattern which he sees slowly revealing itself in our history. The microcosm of particular facts on which the novels focus is the life of a Scandinavian-German family—the family, as his autobiography indicates, into which Doctor Williams married—in Rutherford, New Jersey, during the two decades before 1914. So far, though the history of Joe and Gurlie Stecher is evidently intended to mean more than the events which compose it, the meaning itself is not clear.

Some few directions, however, do emerge in this volume. Joe, the steady, hard-working, scrupulously honest German, who makes money only to shower it, carelessly and disastrously, on his wife and daughters, sounds as if he were intended as an archetype of one kind of middle-class American husband. Gurlie, the daughter of bankrupt Vikings, is one version of what Thomas Beer, describing the clubwoman of the nineties, called the Titaness. Dedicated to the worship of the bitch goddess, she is bound to succeed; she wants to reestablish in America the fallen fortunes of her house, and even more she wants power. "The Build Up" traces the economic and social rise of this couple and the beginnings of their undoing, the result of the folly inseparable from Gurlie's tumultuous activity and of the anti-German feeling which became rampant in America after 1914.

Unhappily, just as Dr. Williams's short stories are only so many sights, sounds, and actions wonderfully observed and set down, so "The Build Up," like the novels which preceded it, is, with the exception of the last badly written chapters, a sequence of similar sights, sounds, and actions which never becomes a novel. The reader, while admiring the superb talent which contrives to make the daily facts of daily life so exciting, is regularly disappointed because the excitement of the facts is all there is to hold his attention. This writing assumes that any experience is, somehow, meaningful, and that any recaptured fragments of experience, put together, will somehow constitute a novel. But the details, the sketches, and the episodes do not result in character and action. Gurlie is for a while an exception. She starts out as a magnificent and irresistible natural force; and then, because the last chapters lapse into a series of notes, she disintegrates into a stock figure, someone's mother-in-law, brainless, destructive, and driving.

This prose is essentially lyrical, encompassing the moment and, on occasion, the day but missing the weeks and the months and the years. It conveys no feeling of the generations going on, though to create such a feeling must be important to what appears to be Dr. Williams's purpose. Its greatest charm lies in its Robinson Crusoe quality. On this level, as a record of making and doing carried on with passionate intensity, it has a power which can often lead the reader to forget, momentarily, how little in the way of fiction it achieves and how inchoate is the pattern it appears to be seeking.

ERNEST JONES

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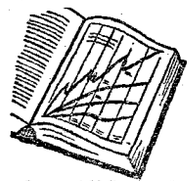

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Films

MANNY FARBER

"COME BACK LITTLE SHEBA," Hal Wallis's high-priced entry for the Academy awards, is not so much a good picture about a dismal, twenty-year old marriage as a somewhat funny and touching play that someone failed to make into a movie. With a crawling pace of events, an unusually bulky cast, and great displays of vivid Theater Guild acting that is almost always consciously perpetrated, it sits around kitchen and parlor revealing—in dialogue—the blundering and wastage of life. Meanwhile its two main figures—a shiftless housewife and a temporarily reclaimed stewbum—watch the love affair of a college-girl boarder and think of all they are missing. It is crowded with plaintive touches (the wife's vicarious participation in radio soap operas, her aimless conversations with anyone she can pull off the street) that are the bulk of the show, while the only cinematic trait lies in its concentration on trivia.

When the movie clicks, it is always on something tiny and pedestrian: Lancaster's gingerly pouring of grapefruit juice, for the boarder, from can to glass; the dependable little kiss when he goes off each morning to his chiropractor's office; his newspaper reading being broken into by the wife's need for companionship. At times it creates a large sense of American domesticity at its warmest and most intertwined. However, Miss Booth gets into her part of the female "schlump" with such an upwelling of enjoyment that she threatens to become Anna Magnani; Lancaster goes at his role of the long-suffering husband as if he were resolved to be an undertaker. You will half-enjoy the film, but its realism is more effective than convincing, and it tends to reiterate the

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twisted sentimentality of left-wing writing that tries to be very sympathetic toward little people while breaking its back to show them as hopelessly vulgar, shallow, and unhappy.

Since most directors these days have neither the time nor the interest for filmic inventions, we should make the most of the new team of Crouse and Greene which leaps after strange devices to set their films off from the average run. Their "The Thief" is almost as boring as the spy thriller "Saboteur" which it recalls, but it has some dynamic scenes done with a hidden camera and (ah, bliss) no talk. The movie is Ray Milland's, who, throughout this latest milking of the Klaus Fuchs case, is a friendless, mild-tempered nuclear scientist who photographs secret atomic data, hides his tiny packets of microfilm in books at the Smithsonian Institute, where they are picked up by a Russian courier (Martin Gabel), intercepted by a half-dozen decoys (wooden actors), and eventually sneaked off to the Kremlin. After an hour of jangling telephones, spastic eye movements, and Milland's panicky chain smoking, the movie comes to a *déjà vu* Hitchcock climax with the hero trying to shake off an F. B. I. agent on the observation platform and stairways of the Empire State Building.

This rather puny chase film, however, is not so pat as it sounds. Milland, no pantomimic genius, manages to breeze through his silent role with much of the real distaste and embarrassment of a quiet guy caught in the lurid machinations of a super situation. You expect the usual anguish, guilt, and patriotic misgivings—and you get them—but in inspired moments Milland also plays the practical spy who believes "any job worth doing is worth doing well." It is a show in which the camera, the framing and handling of scenes, is the major concern. The Crouse-Greene team figure out their camera shots to hold back the unexpected until the right split second; they approach problems in the intellectual fashion of latter-day Eisensteins, such as using ceiling shots when the hero is cornered and low shots when he is free. The lofty camera study of a spy hemmed in by the walls of his furnished room is in a class with the earliest Hitchcock inventions in psychological film work; the panoramic angles of Griffith Stadium offer the most particular qualities of a ball park with the fewest effects. And when you see Milland blend convincingly with a Times Square atmosphere, scene after scene of actors being spotted in just the right place to catch the character of a real-life setting, you get the idea that C-G did a lot of looking at windows, signs, and crowds before they even hired an actor.

During Howard Hughes's reign at RKO a number of good movie ideas and artists were stopped in their tracks by the boss's slutty taste and inveterate kibitzing on every production. "The Lusty Men," one of Hughes's last jobs, however, has a refreshing story idea (about wild men who work the rodeo Big Apple from Tucson to Pendleton) with a more humanized version of the Hughes formula, which includes cheesecake, climactic and fast events, spare somewhat salty dialogue, and a copybook exercise in splitting up two pals with wine, a practical-minded redhead, and quick money. What is good about it is the occasional imaginative scene, as when the has-been bronco buster searches under the old ranch house for a boyhood cache, with the camera taking you on a treasure hunt under the rotting beams, and the treasure turning out to be a broken sixshooter and a purse with two pennies. Arthur Kennedy brings to the male lead—the glory-seeking contestant—a mixture of sweetness and wildness, with some exquisite touches, like the shy, guilty smile of encouragement just before his rival takes off on his last Brahma-bull-riding turn. Mitchum is the most convincing cowboy I've seen in horse opry, meeting every situation with the lonely, distant calm of a master cliché-dodger.

For a fairly good movie you can see "Kansas City Confidential," which in general burglarizes another burglar movie, "Asphalt Jungle," adds a few wrinkles picked up from the Brink robbery, and passes over probability faster than any movie in memory. But unlike any of the above films, it tells a story without gimmicks or short cuts, and all the people involved—director Karleson, actors Elam, Van Cleef, Brand—were not only concerned with the best way to express the material on hand but obviously enjoying themselves. Stanley Kramer's "The Four Poster" is a domestic saga that shrieks for clean directing, less claustrophobic situations, and two stars who are a bit less conceited about their own charm and wit than Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT WAS in 1946 that Markova's dancing first showed a reduced intensity—most strikingly in "Giselle," in which she merely sketched in the early scenes and saved her strength for the big solo of the first act and the taxing second act. Nevertheless a "Swan Lake" performance at that time had, in addition to its continuous flow of exquisite movement, a dramatic force I had never experienced in her previous performances of the work. As it happened, "Swan Lake" was the first of her performances with Ballet Theater that I saw recently;

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and the saving of lessened strength this time produced an exquisite flow, but of movement done on the smallest possible scale—some of it in fact only half-done (the leg trailing when it should have been raised high), and some not done at all but faked (an easier movement substituted for a taxing one)—and without the slightest projective force. And in the "Nutcracker" pas de deux the lessened doing was concealed by a lot of twitterings of hands and lovely arms.

On the other hand her performance in "Les Sylphides" was made as breathtakingly beautiful as ever by that unique "instinct for the melody of movement as it deploys and subsides in the silence of time" (as Edwin Denby once described it)—not only in the supported dances but in the Prelude which she danced alone, and in which there were the additional "refined rhythmic delights" of her movement around, rather than on, the accents of the music. And even with the things she could no longer do in "Giselle" her performance had those enchanting subtleties of phrasing, with in addition a distinction of style, of mere carriage and appearance, which lifted it to a level of grandeur, of compelling dramatic credibility: as one acute observer put it, you believed Markova was someone who would die of the hurt of having been deceived, which you couldn't believe of Alonso.

But though it lacked this distinction Alonso's performance in "Giselle" offered dancing of extraordinary brilliance and loveliness. So with Youskevitch: the observer I have mentioned could point out that his dancing near the end conveyed increasing exhaustion, when it should have conveyed increasing exaltation; but most of the time it offered the brilliance achieved with elegance that we get from no one else. The dancing of Alonso and Youskevitch also contributed to making Balanchine's "Theme and Variations" the satisfying and exciting experience it was. Other such experiences were Loring's "Billy the Kid," with Kriza excellent as Billy, and Koesun lovely as his sweetheart, but with Kelly Brown lacking the necessary force of presence and projection for Garrett; "La Fille mal gardée," brilliantly and amusingly done by Alonso, Kriza, Eric Braun, and Caton; and Lichine's "Graduation Ball," in which Lichine was as engaging as ever, but Riabouchinska no longer spread the radiance over the stage that she used to.

On the other hand the company's "Swan Lake," apart from Markova and Youskevitch, was lifeless and shabby; and Robbins's "Fancy Free" provided an example of how a ballet gets changed and hammed up in the course of time by successive performers; while "Rodeo" provided an example of how a ballet can be changed and hammed up by its creator: the new violence of the square dance between the two scenes is an instance of what De Mille has done throughout the piece; and one remembers also the quieter colors of the costumes of the original Monte Carlo production. In addition to which one remembers the original cast: Franklin, whose series of cabrioles in the second scene were done with a casualness that made them sensational, instead of with Kriza's violence; De Mille herself, who had a toughness that isn't in Jenny Workman; and Kokitch, who had the personal force that isn't in Kelly Brown.

What Brown has is the boyish sweetness and charm suitable for his role in De Mille's new ballet, "The Harvest According," another of those birth-life-death affairs that leaves "Tally-Ho" still the last good piece she has done. The other new ballet, Caton's "Triptych," is a pleasantly inventive series of classroom exercises in costume.

I have nothing to add to what Margaret Marshall wrote about the Dancers of Bali; but I will say that without the long acquaintance that might have made me aware of its variety and subtlety I found the music oppressively shrill and monotonous.

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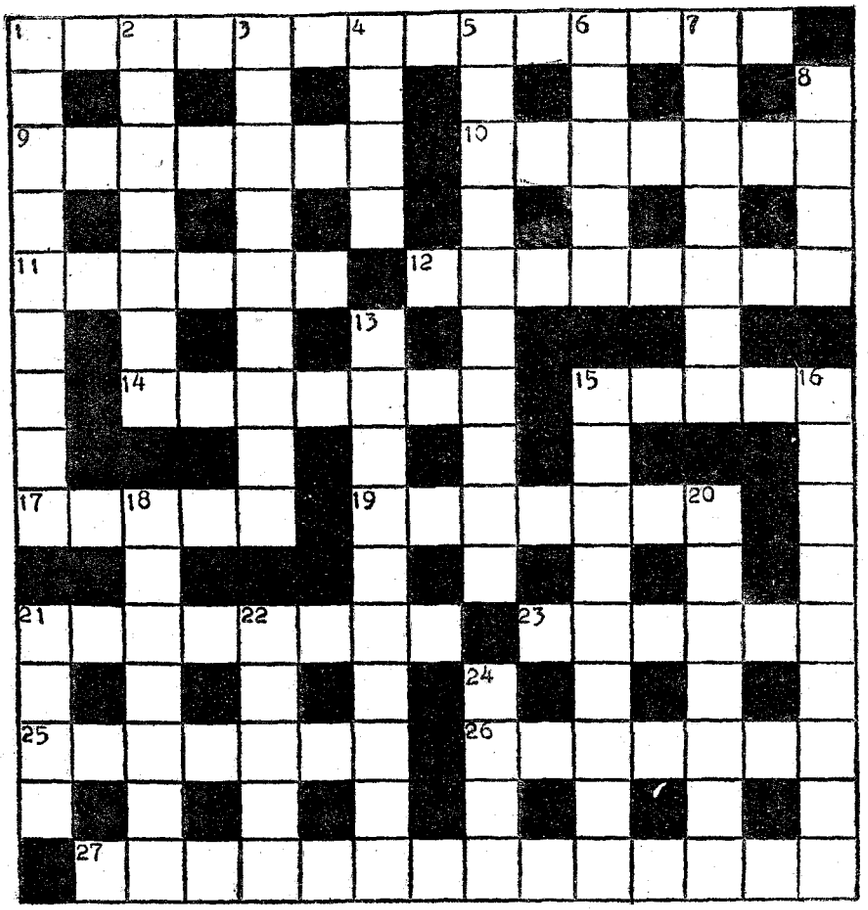
Crossword Puzzle No. 489

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 11. It might be thee that marks the inevitable decline. (3, 9, 2, 3, 3)
9 Makes a leftish movement again, according to rumors! (7)
10 Tom and the "Commercial Secretary," perhaps, could use a buck! (7)
11 See 1 across.
12 Just the thing to give you a lift. (8)
14 Overthrow. (7)
15 See 4 down.
17 The dream of life to both Browning and Longfellow. (5)
19 These pieces of paper could create suspicion in France. (7)
21 Honeysuckle is more than a place for fuel storage. (8)
23 The sort of ironer responsible for many hangings. (6)
25 An order to take part and die together in the confusion. (7)
26 The spinners seem to take sick (possibly necessary to their craft). (7)
27 Herminius, Lartius, Horatius! (6, 8)

DOWN

1 Vaudeville schedule—just for the record? (9)
2 Not a local way to put thought into words. (7)
3 Go astray, and with a young man, too! (6, 3)
4 and 15 across. Slips of actors are likely to disclose such, by the very nature of occurrence. (4, 5)
5 A good plant must run it a different way. (10)
6 and 21 down. Certainly not stalemates! (9)
7 Pelagic. (7)
8 A timid combination, hence pale. (4)
13 A leaf with the middle in a muddle in not quite the middle. (10)
15 Plant enclosure. (6, 3)
16 Gets too bossy to make a mistake in eggs. (9)
18 Make good like Mr. Merimee, perhaps. (7)
20 It might be cold in an artist or a gentleman. (7)
21 See 6 down.
22 Strain. (5)
24 Wild oats, raised by an architect? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 488

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